

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SCCT-01 SAM-01 CU-02 AID-05

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7338

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, MZ, US

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF MARCELINO DOS SANTOS

REF: A) STATE 0926 (NOTAL); B) LOURENCO MARQUES A-199,
DATED DECEMBER 18, 1974 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF PHELPS-STOKES FUND
GROUP, FRELIMO VICE PRESIDENT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS BALMED
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PORTUGUESE FOR PERMITTING INCIDENTS WHICH HAD ERODED WHITE

CONFIDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE'S FUTURE, BUT REITERATED FRELIMO'S REJECTION OF RACISM. HE EXPRESSED FEAR OF REACTIONARY MACHINATIONS IN CAPE IERBG SEEKING TO SABOTAGE THE ISLANDS' INDEPENDENCE. DOS SANTOS WAS AFFABLE AND FRIENDLY TO VISITORS, WITHOUT CONCEALING HIS GENERAL DISTRUST OF USG. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBOFF ACCOMPANIED DR. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT OF NEW YORK-BASED PHELPS-STOKES FUND, AND MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT PERCY SUTTON, ON CALL ON FRELIMO VICE PRESIDENT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS JANUARY 24, AT MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE OUTSIDE DAR ES SALAAM. ANOTHER FRELIMO MAN, JOAO MUNGUAMBE, TOOK EXTENSIVE NOTES BUT DID NOT PARTICIPATE. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION, IN WHICH EMBOFF DID NOT PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY, DOS SANTOS MADE FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL POINTS:

3. CONDITIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE: DOS SANTOS SAID RELATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGUESE CIVILIANS AND MOZAMBICANS HAD BEEN FAIRLY GOOD UP TO EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, BUT THAT RIOTS HAD CREATED MUCH ILL FEELING AND AUGMENTED PORTUGUESE EXODUS. HE NOTED THAT FRELIMO HAD REPEATEDLY WARNED PORTUGUESE TO REMOVE COMMANDO UNITS (WHICH, HE SAID, WERE, WITH G.E.'S AND G.E.P.'S ((SPECIAL ALL-BLACK UNITS))), MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES OF MOZAMBICANS LIKE WIRIYAMU), BUT PORTUGUESE HAD STALLED AND INSISTED ON ROTATING UNITS IN ORDER OF THEIR ARRIVAL IN MOZAMBIQUE. AFTER RIOTS, COMMANDOS WERE QUICKLY REPATRIATED BUT DAMAGE HAD BEEN DONE. REAL TROUBLE WAS THAT PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES DID NOT DISTINGUISH FAST ENOUGH BETWEEN GOOD PEOPLE AND REACTIONARIES; IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE REACTIONARIES SEIZED THE RADIO STATION THAT GOP FINALLY ASSESSED SITUATION CORRECTLY.

4. SOME REACTIONARIES IN PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEHAVED BADLY. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN FRELIMO TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT ARRIVED IT FOUND MANY OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT CARS HAD DISAPPEARED, WHICH ON INVESTIGATION TURNED OUT TO HAVE BEEN SHIPPED OFF TO LISBON. SIMILARLY, OFFICIAL HOUSES WERE FOUND TO HAVE BEEN STRIPPED OF FURNITURE. NONE OF THIS WAS THE FAULT OF HIGH COMMISSIONER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CRESPO, HOWEVER. BUT THE DANGER OF REACTIONARY PLOTTING REMAINED, AND CONTINUED VIGILANCE WOULD BE NECESSARY.

5. RACISM: IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION, DOS SANTOS STRESSED THAT FRELIMO WAS NOT ANTI-WHITE AS SUCH. THE AFRICAN IN THE FIELDS MIGHT BE EXCUSED FOR BEING ANTI-WHITE, SINCE HE HAD ONLY KNOWN WHITES AS OPPRESSORS, BUT IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE MOVEMENT'S LEADERS TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THAT

THIS WAS NOT RIGHT. THERE ARE PORTUGUESE WHO WERE SYMPATHETIC TO FRELIMO, AND THERE ARE WHITE MOZAMBICANS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF FRELIMO. FOR EXAMPLE, TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT JUSTICE MINISTER RUI BALTAZAR ALVES WAS FRELIMO MEMBER WHO HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO UNDERGROUND WORK IN LOURENCO MARQUES, WHERE HE FORMED PART OF DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. A WHITE NAMED CARRASCO (PHONETIC) HAD STUDIED IN ITALY, AND THEN BEEN ASSIGNED TO UNDERGROUND WORK IN LOURENCO MARQUES. TWO NEW SECRETARIES HAD JUST BEEN SENT UP FROM LOURENCO MARQUES TO WORK IN FRELIMO HEADQUARTERS IN DAR. ONE WAS WHITE AND THE OTHER BLACK.

6. A NUMBER OF DEFECTORS FROM FRELIMO HAD BEEN BLACK RACISTS, DOS SANTOS SAID. LAZARO KAVANDAME, WHO DEFECTED AFTER MONDLANE'S ASSASSINATION, WAS A LEADING ONE OF THEM. "WE WILL HAVE TO ASK HIM QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION", DOS SANTOS SAID, IN RATHER OMINOUS TONE, "BUT THERE IS PLENTY OF TIME FOR THAT BECAUSE HE IS IN OUR POWER." URIA SIMANGO WAS ALSO A RACIST, DOS SANTOS SAID, AND HAD THE GALL TO ASPIRE TO BE HEAD OF FRELIMO, THOUGH MERELY OBSERVING HIM AND MONDLANE TOGETHER WOULD CONVINCE ANYONE OF HOW LITTLE QUALIFIED SIMANGO WAS. SIMANGO HAD ALLIED HIMSELF WITH WHITE REACTIONARIES AT TIME OF RADIO SEIZURE, CLAIMING THAT FRELIMO GOVERNMENT WOULD ONLY REPLACE WHITE FASCISM WITH BLACK FASCISM. SIMANGO IS ALSO IN FRELIMO CUSTODY, DOS SANTOS ADDED. THERE WERE VARIOUS TRAITORS WHO WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH, BUT FRELIMO COULD COUNT ON PORTUGUESE NOT GIVING THEM PLACES ON "THE LAST TRAIN BACK TO LISBON".

7. STUDENTS: OF ALL THE MOZAMBICAN STUDENTS WHO HAD GONE TO THE US TO STUDY, ONLY FIVE OR SIX HAD EVER COME BACK TO WORK FOR FRELIMO. DOS SANTOS MENTIONED THEIR NAMES (EMBOFF RECOGNIZED THOSE OF GABRIEL SIMBINE AND MANUEL DOS SANTOS).
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THE REST HAD "PERSONAL" REASONS FOR NOT RETURNING: THEY THOUGHT THAT AS EDUCATED PEOPLE THEY SHOULDN'T GET THEIR HANDS DIRTY FIGHTING, OR THAT THEIR LIVES WERE TOO PRECIOUS TO MOZAMBIQUE TO BE RISKED (SO THAT THEY SHOULD SAVE THEMSELVES TO TAKE OVER POWER AFTER INDEPENDENCE).

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AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

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8. (DR. WILLIAMS OF PHELPS-STOKES OUTLINED FUND'S ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING EMERGENCY AID TO AFRICAN STUDENTS, INVITED FRELIMO TO VISIT FUND HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK, AND OFFERED ONE GRADUATE-LEVEL SCHOLARSHIP SLOT FOR CANDIDATE FRELIMO MIGHT NOMINATE FOR STUDY ESPECIALLY NEEDED BY MOZAMBIQUE.)

9. CAPE VERDE: DOS SANTOS EXPRESSED FEAR THAT PORTUGUESE REACTIONARIES WOULD DO SOMETHING TO SUBVERT INDEPENDENCE OF CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, BECAUSE OF THEIR GREAT STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE (BY IMPLICATION, TO AMERICA). SINCE REACTIONARIES WERE RUTHLESS, THEY MIGHT TRY TO MANIPULATE ISLANDS' SEVERE DROUGHT-CAUSED FOOD SHORTAGE FOR SUBVERSIVE PURPOSES. HE HOPED USG WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES THERE,
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AND THAT CAPE VERDEANS IN US WOULD RALLY ROUND AND SUPPORT THE ISLANDS.

10. FRELIMO SUPPORT IN US AND EUROPE: IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSING RACISM, DOS SANTOS NOTED THAT WHILE USG HAD SUPPORTED PORTUGAL AGAINST FRELIMO (E.G. BY MAINTAINING CONSULAR POST IN MOZAMBIQUE), MANY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN US, SOME MULTIRACIAL AND SOME BLACK, HAD GIVEN FRELIMO IMPORTANT MATERIAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. SIMILARLY, THERE HAD BEEN SUPPORT FROM WHITE COUNTRIES IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE ALL-IMPORTANT ARMS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ("IS NOT BREZHNEV A WHITE?" HE ADDED).

11. US GOVERNMENT: DOS SANTOS NOTED THAT FOR A LONG TIME USG HAD NOT WANTED TO TALK TO FRELIMO, OR TO RECOGNIZE IT AS POLITICAL ENTITY, BUT SAID THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME CHANGE NOW REFLECTED IN THE MEETING BETWEEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM AND FRELIMO PRESIDENT MACHEL. NEVERTHELESS, THROUGHOUT MEETING, HE MADE IT CLEAR IN WORDS AND BY INTONATION THAT HE VIEWS USG WITH GREAT SUSPICION, AND RELATED TO HIS VISITORS MORE AS MEMBERS OF AMERICAN BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT THAN AS REPRESENTING "OFFICIAL" AMERICA.

12. PHELPS-STOKES VISIT TO MOZAMBIQUE: DR. WILLIAMS EXPRESSED HOPE OF MEETING MEMBERS OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE, AND SAID HIS MAIN WISH WAS TO SEE THOSE THINGS AND HEAR THOSE THINGS WHICH AMERICAN BLACKS OUGHT TO KNOW ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE AND FRELIMO. DOS SANTOS EXPRESSED INTEREST AND IMPLIED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY IN CONTACTING FRELIMO IN LOURENCO MARQUES.

13. COMMENT: DOS SANTOS WAS FRIENDLY AND, AFTER A SLIGHTLY NERVOUS START, WARMED UP CONSIDERABLY AND APPEARED TO ENJOY THE MEETING AND HIS VISITORS. BOTH DR. WILLIAMS AND MR. SUTTON SUBSEQUENTLY EXPRESSED THEIR IMPRESSION THAT DOS SANTOS IS UNUSUALLY ABLE AND CLEARSIGHTED PERSONALITY. SUBSTANTIVELY, HOWEVER, DOS SANTOS REMAINED QUITE CAUTIOUS, THOUGH AT THE SAME TIME OFTEN SPEAKING WITH EVIDENT FEELING. HE DID NOT RAISE A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS OF OBVIOUS INTEREST, SUCH AS FRELIMO PLANS FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOCIO/ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING OF MOZAMBIQUE, THE FUTURE PLACE OF PORTUGUESE EXPATRIATES, OR MOZAMBIQUE'S FUTURE POSTURE TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA, EVEN TO THE EXTENT HE HAS DONE IN SOCIALIST PRESS (REF B). DOS SANTOS SPOKE GOOD AND COLLOQUIAL, IF DELIBERATE, ENGLISH. HE SEEMED SELF-CONFIDENT AND ASSURED, AND MORE GENIAL THAN HIS PUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS OR RADICAL POLITICAL REPUTATION WOULD SUGGEST, THOUGH HE IS OBVIOUSLY A MAN OF STRONG CONVICTIONS AND CONSIDERABLE MILITANCY. CARTER

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